THE SOURCE OF THE LATIN TROPE

BY

SISTER MARY LOYOLA HAYDE
Ph.B., University of Chicago, 1915
A.M., University of Chicago, 1917

AN ABSTRACT OF A THESIS

SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN ENGLISH
IN THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF ILLINOIS, 1931

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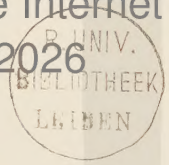

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THE SOURCE OF THE LATIN TROPE

This study deals with the trope, an ornamentation of the mediaeval liturgy of interest to the historian of dramatic origins because it constitutes one of the ultimate ecclesiastical sources of modern European drama. Since Léon Gautier elaborated such a theory of origin of Western European drama, scholarly interest has been awakened in the trope as contributing to dramatic origins. Gautier's statement of this process of literary evolution has in general been accepted by all historians of modern European drama:

> Par une série de transitions . . . les Tropes (of the Introit) sont, petit à petit, devenus des Mystères; les Mystères sont, petit à petit, devenus des "Jeux," et les "Jeux" enfin, sont, petit à petit, devenus des Drames en langue vulgaire.[1]

The tropes here referred to, those of the Introit of the Mass, were said by the same scholar to have been invented in the ninth century by Tutilo, a monk of St. Gall's monastery. But these were probably not the earliest tropes as Gautier himself tells us. Having discussed Notker's account found in the Preface to his *Liber Hymnorum Notkeri,* Gautier adds: *"Ce* (what Notker called *versiculos*) *furent les premières proses. A vrai dire, CE* (Notper's proses) *FURENT LES PREMIERES TROPES et la prose n'est, en effet, que LE TROPE DU DERNIER ALLELUIA DU GRADUEL."*[2]

Hence these liturgical ornaments called in Notker's Preface *versiculos,* and in the manuscripts, *prosae* (the term still used by the French) and in the German and English-speaking countries called sequences, *sequentiae,* form a species of the genus trope. The term trope is used in this dissertation as defined by Gerbert: "A trope in the liturgical sense is a certain versicle, or even several, placed before, within, or after some liturgical chants. Moreover, not being bound by any meter, they are called proses."[3] Trope, the term for the entire genre, thus includes all the names by which these elaborations, interpretations, or paraphrases of the liturgical texts were known at various times and in various places. Among these terms for the trope the chief are *tropus* (the species), *prosa* or *sequentia, farcitura, laus, conductus, versus, versiculus,* and *prosula.* It is the source of this genus, this vast system of mediaeval liturgical poetry, that we are seeking.

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[1] L. Gautier, *Histoire de la Poésie liturgique au Moyen Age, Les Tropes* (Paris, 1886), p. 8.

[2] *Ibid.,* p. 21. The capitals are Gautier's.

[3] "Tropus in re liturgica est versiculus quidam, aut etiam plures ante, inter, vel post alios ecclesiasticos cantus appositi; ac Prosae etiam dicuntur omni soluti metro," M. Gerbert, *De cantu et musica sacra a prima ecclesiae aetate usque ad praesens tempus* (Monast. S. Blasii, 1774), 1, 340.

The justification for this study lies in the fact that Gautier's theory of trope origin is open to serious question in view of the recent studies in musicology, paleography, comparative liturgiology, and Greek hymnography. These studies began in the Church during the second half of the nineteenth century as a result of (1) the restoration of Latin and Greek liturgical chants and (2) the Union of the two Churches. The fifteen years' researches of the Reverend Clemens Blume, S.J., in the monastic and municipal libraries of Europe have furnished a most adequate basis for the study of the Latin tropes. The excellent labors of the Hellenist, Cardinal Pitra, in the libraries of Europe and the Orient have laid the foundation of our knowledge of Greek hymnography. Moreover, these "movements" have produced so large and learned a body of special studies on subjects related to the trope that one may now take a step nearer the source of the Latin trope than has hitherto been possible.

The object of this study is twofold: (1) To examine the present theory of trope origin and to point out by internal and external evidence that troping is earlier than St. Gall and (2) To present with evidence a new theory (a) of the immediate source of the trope in a particular Latin mediaeval liturgy suppressed in the twelfth century and (b) of the probability of an ultimate source in the Greek liturgy of the primitive Church.

This study contributes to the history of English dramatic origins. Since the trope is conceded to be the liturgical source of modern European drama, a study of the source of the trope is in reality an attempt at reaching an ultimate source of that drama. My purpose is more particularly to point out to students of dramatic origins that the roots of drama penetrated much farther into the past and were spread over a much broader area than the generally accepted theory of trope origin would lead one to believe.

In this connection it is necessary to realize how greatly indebted European drama is to the liturgy; hence a brief review of the best opinions and theories regarding the ecclesiastical origins and development of European drama seemed a necessary preliminary to the later discussion of a single phase of the liturgical service, the trope. This review is made in chapter one.

Chapter two is an historical view of the trope of the Western Church. It attempts to give an idea, with examples, of the various forms included under the general term trope (genus) and to demonstrate the extent to which this process of interpolating the mediaeval liturgy prevailed; thus showing the importance of the trope in the Middle Ages. The value of the trope at the present day to the liturgist, the musicologist, and the

historian of literary forms is also pointed out. The date, provenance, and artistic value of the tropers or collections of tropes is also touched upon.

After these two preliminary chapters, the background of our study, the dissertation falls naturally into three sections: (1) An examination of the present theory of trope origin; (2) A search through mediaeval Latin liturgies for the immediate source of the trope; (3) A study of the relationship between the Latin tropes of the Western Church and the Greek troparia of the Eastern Church in search of the ultimate source of the trope.

The results of the study summarized by chapters follow.

CHAPTER III

The Statement of the Problem

The earliest reference to individuals in connection with the trope movement in the Latin Church is found in *Casus S. Galli* of Ekkehard IV (d. 1070), the eleventh century chronicler of St. Gall monastery. To Tutilo (d. 915), a monk of the same abbey, Ekkehard IV attributed the composition of tropes for the Introit and the Offertory of the Mass; to Notker Balbulus (d. 912), another monk of St. Gall, he ascribed the composition of a large collection of sequences or Proses together with the Preface to this collection in which is explained how and why the sequences were written.

This account of Ekkehard IV was repeated almost verbatim a century later by Ekkehard V (d. 1198), also a monk of St. Gall, in his *Vita B. Notkeri Balbuli.* A few references based on these two accounts are found in the works of liturgists and musicologists of the thirteenth century. Since this genre of liturgical poetry began to decay in the twelfth century, and, after the revision of the liturgy in the sixteenth century, but four sequences of the thousands that once adorned the mediaeval liturgy remained in liturgical use, it is not surprising that the genre is not again mentioned until the seventeenth century. Then the few references found are mere repetitions of the account of Ekkehard IV.

In the eighteenth century Martin Gerbert in *De cantu et musica sacra* (1774) collected everything known of Latin liturgical chant together with sufficient discussion of the chant of the Greek Church to show the dependence of the former upon the latter. Regarding Notker, Gerbert repeats what is recorded in *Casus S. Galli* not finding in it apparently any reference to an "invention" of a genre of Proses or rhythms in which he says many worked, among whom the most illustrious composer was Notker Balbulus.

The first and still unrivalled nineteenth-century treatment of this

subject is that of Ferdinand Wolf. In his wealth of notes in *Über die Lais, Sequenzen, und Leiche* (1841) he neglects none of the material gathered by Gerbert. He admits that Notker may have written the first Gradual tropes called *sequentiae*. Dr. Karl Bartsch's *Die Lateinischen Sequenzen* (1868) analyzes the sequences from the point of view of rhythm and traces the influence of the sequence upon the development of Romance and Germanic poetry. F. J. Mone's *Lateinische Hymnen des Mittelalters* (1853-55) shows the dependence in thought and expression upon Greek liturgical poetry. John Mason Neale, in his *Epistola Critica "De Sequentiis,"* an introductory essay to Daniel's *Thesaurus Hymnologicus* (1856) Vol. V, showed the similarity between the structure of the Latin sequence and the Greek ode. Léon Gautier, in *La Poésie liturgique au Moyen Age; Les Tropes* (1886), ascribed the beginning of the trope movement to St. Gall monastery in the ninth century; the invention of the Prose, the trope of the Alleluia, to Notker; and that of the tropes of the Introit and of the Offertory to Tutilo. W. H. Frere, in *The Winchester Troper* (1894), called attention to the fact that the Preface states that Notker borrowed his idea from an *Antiphonarium* brought to St. Gall by a monk from the monastery of Jumièges. Rev. Peter Wagner, in *Ursprung und Entwicklung liturgische Geschichte* (1895), suspected the reliability of the St. Gall Chronicle and the authenticity of the Preface, maintaining that the origin of the Notkerian sequence is in Byzantine hymnody as is that of the trope of Tutilo. Rev. Clemens Blume, S.J., from his study of the melodic basis of two hundred fifty sequences in *Analecta Hymnica* (1911), Vol. 53, concluded that Notker did not invent the sequence at the end of the ninth century — that its source goes back to the eighth century. To this period he believed the origin of the trope (species) must also be referred, nor did he believe that the comparatively few tropes belonging to St. Gall justified one in believing that this abbey was the birthplace of the trope.

Summing up the testimony of those dissenting from the Notkerian theory we find (1) that although Neale and Wagner see in the Notkerian sequence an evident imitation of Byzantine liturgical poetry, they believe that Notker may have been the first to introduce this genre into the Latin Church; (2) that Frere, who denies the invention by Notker, pointing out that he imitated a genre already cultivated in Jumièges, seems to have no thought of carrying the history of the genre farther back than France; and (3) that Blume, convinced that the first home of the Prose was not St. Gall, nor even France, wonders: "What land then?"

Thus, despite the valuable research of these men, the source of the trope and Prose still remains obscure. One seems justified, therefore, in reviewing the evidence of the discussion.

CHAPTER IV

The Notkerian Theory

The theory that Notker Balbulus, the ninth-century monk of St. Gall, invented the Prose or sequence, the first trope of the Alleluia, must be abandoned. The reasons may be listed as follows:

(1) The interpretation of the *Prooemium Notkeri,* upon which the theory is based, is not warranted by the text, nor are the inferences supported by the history of mediaeval music. It is maintained that this dedicatory letter is evidence that Notker invented the sequence. But the text states that Notker imitated a liturgical-literary genre which he found in the *Antiphonarium* brought to St. Gall by the monk of Jumièges, whose abbey had lately been destroyed by the Northmen.

(2) It is maintained also that the Prose was invented as a mnemonic device for remembering the very long melismatic or ornamental melodies on the final *a* of the Alleluia of the Gradual of the Mass. Analysis of the Prose, however, reveals its parallel strophic structure, disclosing the fact that each strophe has its corresponding antistrophe. These strophes are isosyllabic (having the same number of syllables) and homotonic (having the same regular recurrence of accent). Thus they are written in accordance with the cardinal principle of Greek or Byzantine lyrism. And to this law the *Prooemium* itself refers in stating that St. Gall's music-master, Iso, took the trouble to emend Notker's *versiculos* saying: *"Singuli motus cantilenae singulae syllabae debent habere."*

(3) To the incomplete interpretation of this eleventh-century document must be added the fact that the authenticity of the document itself is very questionable, since it contains many "riddles" at variance with the history of mediaeval musical forms. Moreover, Ekkehard IV, the eleventh-century chronicler of St. Gall, who is the authority for this document is (a) incompetent and untrustworthy in that he is dependent upon oral tradition for events that happened about one hundred and seventy-five years before he wrote, (b) he is uncritical as shown by his extravagant ascription of sequences to Notker — an ascription which present scholarship has reduced from fifty (in some MSS seventy) to fifteen, (c) he is biased in favor of his monastery in questions relating to its musical history and its famous *Schola Cantorum.* This bias is evident in his attributing to his monastery what was considered a great honor in mediaeval days — the direct reception of Roman chant through the "authentic Antiphoner" brought to St. Gall by the Roman chanter, Romanus. This story is disproved by the contents of the *Antiphonarium* and by the evidence of the neums, the mediaeval musical notation. Moreover, Ekkehard IV maintained that the *litterae significativae,* letters

which indicated the height and depth, the strength and weakness, as well as the length of the neums, were invented at St. Gall by this same Romanus whom modern scholars consider in the words of Henry M. Bannister, *"il mitico Romanus."* The Greek influence evident in these letters would rather point to a connection with the *Hellenici fratres* resident at St. Gall to whom Notker refers in the letter in which he explains these *litterae significativae* to *fratri Lantperto.*

CHAPTER V

Troping Earlier Than St. Gall

The evidence of troping earlier than St. Gall strengthens the arguments already advanced for the destruction of the Notkerian theory. That four trope manuscripts have been found in France earlier than any tropers from St. Gall, Blume considers comparatively unimportant. Summing up the results of his study[4] of the musical basis to which the Proses are written, Blume gives the following facts which point to the priority of France in the composition of this literary-liturgical genre: (1) When Notkerian or German sequences and French Proses use the same melody as a basis, though under a different name, the more primitive form of the melody is that of France. (2) The text of the Prose found in French manuscripts is always in liturgical accord with the Alleluia-verse to whose melisma the Prose is composed; this is often not the case with sequences found in German manuscripts. (3) The *schema,* or melody-title, would naturally be expected to take its name from the *incipit* or beginning of the *versus-alleluiaticus* to whose melisma the sequence is written, or from the *incipit* of the sequence itself. This is almost invariably the case in France but never in Germany where the melody-titles are bizarre and not easily explainable. (4) The French use the earlier and more correct term *Prosa,* the Germans use *sequentia,* a term found in no manuscript in the literary sense, but always as a musical term for the melismatic group of notes on the final *a* of the Alleluia. (5) French Proses have assonance in *a,* as would be expected from their connection with the Alleluia; German sequences have assonance in *e* (i) or *o* (u). (6) French manuscripts contain the *versus ad sequentias,* the immediate forerunner of the Prose or sequence; in Germany this antecedent form is not found.

From such evidence offered by the analysis of the structure of the Proses, Blume reached the following conclusions: (1) The Proses did not originate in St. Gall monastery. (2) Notker Balbulus was not the inventor of them, although he is the most renowned and first composer

[4] Clemens Blume, S.J., *Analecta Hymnica* (1911), LIII, xiv-xxi.

in Germany. (3) Their source reaches farther back — to sometime in the eighth century.

As the composition of the Prose or sequence has been shown to be earlier than Notker, so the composition of the analogous form, the trope (species) can be shown to be earlier than Tutilo whose biography, Gautier claimed, fixed the date of the first tropes. *The Life of Pope Adrian II* (d. 872), ascribed to Adhemar de Chabannes, a monk of Angoulême (d. 1034), records the renewal and encouragement by this Pope of the custom of chanting tropes and Proses — a custom fostered during the pontificate of Pope Adrian I (772-795). The document states also that tropes were written by Alcuin (d. 804), and that they were "instituted" by Pope Gregory. The *Sequentia de S. Michaele* — troparium, Mone calls it — which a tenth-century manuscript states was written by Alcuin for Charlemagne, must have been composed one hundred years earlier than Notker. Pope Gregory, referred to in the document, is not necessarily Gregory I (d. 604), although it is not impossible that he "instituted" the tropes, since he spent seven years as apocrisarius in Constantinople, where troparia were chanted daily in the Greek basilicas. Pope Gregory of the *Vita* may be Gregory II (d. 731) or Pope Gregory III (d. 741), the Syrian Pope, to whom rather than to Pope Gregory I, Gerbert believes the organization of the Roman or Gregorian chant is due.

Tropes are mentioned four times in the poems of Fortunatus (d. 600). Trope and Prose are referred to in the sixth century Rule of the abbots Paul and Stephen. That Caesarius of Arles (d. 542) had his congregation chant *Prosas et antiphonas,* some in Greek and some in Latin, is stated in the *Life of Caesarius* written by his contemporary and disciple, Cyprian, bishop of Toulon.

CHAPTER VI

Tropes in the Mozarabic Liturgy

That the trope manuscripts have been hitherto characterized as French, German, Italian, etc., has been somewhat misleading, since the provenance of a troper is liturgical rather than geographical. Not the country in which the troper is found today but the liturgy of which it was a part in the Middle Ages is important in solving questions connected with its contents. Since the trope is a liturgical chant developed gradually out of the exigencies of prayer, its source must be sought not in an "inventor," but in a liturgy. Hence, in tracing the course of the trope earlier than St. Gall, we turn to the three Latin liturgies of the Western Church in mediaeval days: the Mozarabic, the Celtic, and the Roman.

The Mozarabic or Old Spanish liturgy has generally been omitted in discussions of the Latin trope (genus). Gautier sketches his "Trope-

itinerary," his *"tour du monde"* without a reference to Spain. Yet in the Spanish peninsula in 1785 Felipe F. Vallejo, the archbishop of Santiago de Compostella, discovered *Il Misterio de los Reyes Magos,* the earliest vernacular "Three Kings" play. That Spain possessed a vernacular *Misterio* written in the second half of the twelfth century should have suggested that she did not differ from the other countries of Western Europe in the matter of possessing Latin tropes and Latin liturgical plays. For if the vernacular plays of Western Europe are derived from the Latin liturgical plays, and these in turn from the tropes of the Latin Church, why should not the vernacular liturgical plays of Spain be derived ultimately from tropes in the Mozarabic rite? If the liturgical play of Western Europe is the blossom whose seed is the trope, why should not the same law of literary production obtain in Spain?

Examination of manuscripts of Mozarabic liturgy shows that it contained tropes (species), Proses or sequences, farcings, and Latin liturgical plays. In addition to these forms, Spain had not only the *versus ad sequentias,* a forerunner of the sequence not found in Germany, but also a still earlier related form, the rhythmical *Preces.* These *Preces* Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer characterizes as the earliest form of *strophenfindung.* To the tropes (genus) found in the Spanish peninsula must be added the tropes of southern Gaul, which at this period was under Visigothic rule and practiced the Mozarabic rite.

CHAPTER VII

Tropes in the Celtic Liturgy

Two *Preces* are found in the *Bobbio Missal* (MS Paris, Lat. 13246), known to paleographers as *Bobiense.* Dom Wilmart in his article *"Missal de Bobbio"*[5] declared that these *Preces* were borrowed from the Mozarabic liturgy. Wilhelm Meyer aus Speyer in *Die Mozarabischen Preces* (1914) proves, on the basis of content, structure, and versification, that the form found in *Bobiense* was the original. However, accepting Mabillon's ascription of the *Bobbio Missal* to Gallican rite, Meyer credits the Bobbio *Preces* to France.

The *Preces,* according to Meyer, are the oldest example of *Strophenfindung,* which was supposed to exist up to the year 1000 only in the sequences. Since these *Preces* are found in the seventh-century *Bobbio Missal* — the oldest extant liturgical manuscript, representing, according to Dom Cagin, the Latin liturgy of the fifth century — the liturgical provenance of this missal is manifestly important.

[5] *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie et de la Liturgie* (1908), fasc. XV, col. 941 sqq.

The *Bobiense,* discovered in 1685 in Bobbio monastery, Italy, by Dom Mabillon, was published by him the following year as a *Sacramentarium Gallicanum.* Mabillon ascribed this missal to the Gallican liturgy because of its striking liturgical resemblance to a lectionary which he had discovered a few years before (1675) at Luxeuil — *Lectionarium Luxovicense* (MS Paris, Lat. 9427, saec. VII-VIII). This lectionary Mabillon had styled Gallican because he believed that the liturgy anciently used in Gaul should be called Gallican as that used in Spain should be called Gothic.

Mabillon's Gallican classification of *Bobiense* was generally accepted; its geographical provenance, Besançon — the region in which Luxeuil lies — which he merely conjectured, was soon announced as fact. Msgr. Duchesne, following Mabillon, reconstructed in *Origines du culte chrétien* (1889), a hypothetical "Gallican" Mass, in order to give "an approximate idea of what a solemn Mass would have been in the sixth century, say at Milan, or Arles, or Toledo, or Paris." The books employed in this reconstruction were all of Celtic origin: *Luxeuil Lectionary* and *Bobbio Missal* from the two most famous continental foundations of the Irish missionary St. Columbanus — Luxeuil monastery founded in Gaul in 590, and Bobbio monastery founded in 612; the so-called *Missale Gothicum* was in the opinion of its editor, the Rev. H. M. Bannister, probably written at Luxeuil or some daughter house. Professor Lindsay, from paleographic reasons, comes to the same decision.[6] Professor Traube and E. A. Lowe call its minuscule script "of the school of Luxeuil." Since at this period (ca. 700) sixty-nine continental monasteries had been founded from Luxeuil, it is evident that Gallican is a misnomer for liturgical books used in these monasteries which followed the rule and rite of the Irish monks of Luxeuil.

That the term Celtic should replace Gallican is more clearly manifest from the fact that the books which Duchesne lists as Gallican come from continental monasteries founded and peopled by the Irish monks or from the monasteries in the British Isles. Among the latter might be listed the *Stowe Missal,* the *Book of Deer,* the *Book of Dimma,* the *Book of Mulling,* and the *Bangor Antiphonarium.*

The recent liturgical and paleographic studies of the *Bobbio Missal* carried on by such eminent scholars as Edmund Bishop, Dom Wilmart, Dom Cagin, Ludwig Traube and E. A. Lowe have justified the claim made in 1814 by Dr. Chas. O'Conor that the *Bobiense* was an Irish Missal (*Missale Hibernicum Bobiense*),[7] and that made in 1829 by Dr. Lanigan that it belonged to the *Cursus Scotorum.*[8] Since, then, the *Preces,* the

[6] *Notae Latinae* (1915), p. 481.
[7] *Rerum Hibern. Script. Veteres,* I, cxxx-cxliii.
[8] *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland,* II, 391 ff.

earliest form of sequence poetry, are found in the *Bobbio Missal,* they must belong to the Celtic liturgy; that is their earliest home.

That the later forms of the new rhythmical liturgical poetry — trope, and Prose or sequence — also belonged to the Celtic liturgy may be inferred from the following facts: The tropes (genus) were monastic in their origin and in their liturgical use; they were international or universal in their propagation throughout Western Christendom — hence the liturgy or Church to which they must be ascribed must possess these two characteristics. It must be monastic and international. Now the Church which was monastic in its organization and so continued until its suppression at the end of the twelfth century was the Celtic Church. That this Church was also international is seen in the history of the monastic foundations — insular and continental — of the Irish missionaries. *"Les expansions irlandaises"* is Dom Gougaud's term for his discussion of this point.[9] From the middle of the sixth century to the eleventh, bands of Irish missionaries — *exules, peregrini* — consisting generally of a group of thirteen monks, made permanent monastic foundations in the British Isles and on the continent from the Danube to Spain. In all these foundations the liturgy in use, naturally, was that of the Irish monks — the Celtic. That it was in the monasteries of this vast territory that the tropes were found justifies the inference that the tropes belonged to the Celtic liturgy and not to the Roman, the other mediaeval Latin liturgy. For the Roman liturgy did not prevail even throughout Italy; northern Italy, with the Irish monastic foundations at Lucca, Bobbio, and Piacenza, used the Celtic rite; southern Italy — Magna Graecia — used the Greek rite. The Roman liturgy was the "Use of Rome" and its environs — and not even there continuously, for during the pontificates of the Greek popes who reigned at intervals to the middle of the eighth century the Greek liturgy was followed in Rome.

That the trope did not arise in the Roman rite all evidence shows. It will suffice to cite the following: the abbot Gerbert says that the tropes disappeared at the revision of the Latin liturgy in 1570 — *"quod priscam Romanae ecolesiae liturgiam minime saperent."*[10] The tropes which are found in the *Roman Missal* printed at Lyons during the pontificate of Pope Paul III (1534-1550) are accompanied by the apologetic rubric: "Here follow devout words added to the *Kyrie, Sanctus,* and *Agnus Dei,* placed here to satisfy the devotion of some priests, although they are not according to the rubrics of the Roman Church." (*Licet non sint de Ordinario Romanae ecclesiae.*)

That the earliest home of the Latin trope is the Celtic liturgy is the

[9] *Les Chrétientes Celtiques* (Paris, 1911), pp. 134-174.
[10] *De Cantu et musica sacra* (1774), I, 348.

more probable since to this liturgy belong the oldest extant Latin liturgical books — the oldest Missal is that of Bobbio; the oldest lectionary, that of Luxeuil; and the oldest antiphonary, that of Bangor.

Nor is it insignificant that the earliest traditions of trope history are connected with Irish names. St. Gall, the traditional birthplace of the trope, was an Irish abbey founded in 612 by St. Gall, a member of St. Columbanus' band of Irish missionaries; Notker's two music masters, mentioned in the Preface, were Irish — Marcellus (Moengal in Irish) and Iso (Isu, the Irish form of Jesus); Notker's *Book of Sequences* was dedicated to the bishop of Vercelli — chancellor of the emperor Charles — who is addressed as abbot of Bobbio and successor of St. Columbanus and defender of the cell of his disciple, St. Gall; the chant of the tropes was written in Irish neums; the antiphonary which was said to have given Notker the hint "to tie words to the neums" was brought by a monk from Jumièges (Gimedia), an abbey founded from Luxeuil (Luxovium), the famous Irish monastery founded by St. Columbanus.

Thus it seems permissible to conclude that the earliest home — the immediate source of the Latin trope — is the Celtic liturgy. This hypothesis accounts for the hitherto unexplained decadence of the trope in the twelfth century, which synchronizes with the suppression of the Celtic liturgy by the synod convened at Cashel (1172) at the command of Henry II. That the Celtic liturgy was not the ultimate source of the Latin trope is shown by the fact that in its structure the Latin trope followed the cardinal principle of Greek lyrism and that translations of Greek troparia have been found in Latin trope manuscripts. Hence the necessity of a brief survey of the Greek troparia of the Oriental Church.

CHAPTER VIII

Troparia in the Greek Liturgy

Greek troparia, constituting four-fifths of the liturgical books of the Oriental Church, have been in liturgical use from the fourth century to the present day. Of this poetry, in which the quantitative principle has given way to the accentual rhythmical principle, there are four creations belonging to four different epochs. In chronological order appeared (1) the primitive *acclamation* known also as refrain, acrostichion, or ephymnion; (2) the *troparion,* composed of a number of acclamations (*congesta et continuata ephymnia*); (3) the *contakion,* consisting of twenty or more troparia — a form invented by the greatest of melodists, Romanus (d. probably ca. 560); (4) the *canon,* consisting of eight or nine odes — each ode composed of at least three troparia, was invented by St. Andrew, archbishop of Crete (d. 726). The canons were cultivated

in the eighth century by St. John of Damascus and his half brother, Cosmas, and in the ninth and following centuries by the illustrious schools of melodists throughout the Orient and even in the Occident. Among these the most famous were the Laura of St. Sabas of Jerusalem, the Studium (*Studion*) of Constantinople, and the monasteries of the Italo-Greeks in Sicily and southern Italy and especially Grottaferrata at Tusculum.

The single troparia in structure homotonic and isosyllabic in accordance with the law of Greek lyrism, are concealed in the liturgical books under a variety of names — thirty-three in all. These substantives were originally adjectives qualifying the noun "troparion" and indicating some attendant circumstance, e.g., content, structure, musical basis, liturgical location, manner of rendition, etc. A troparion, for example, celebrating the glories of Mary was originally known as *troparion theotokion;* later it was called merely *theotokion* (the God-bearer).

CHAPTER IX

The Ultimate Source of the Trope

A comparison of the Latin trope with the Greek troparion reveals the following facts: (1) Both these literary genres performed the same office — an addition to the liturgical elements of the Mass and Office (*Cursus*). (2) Both exhibit the same structure — rhythmical strophes, isosyllabic and homotonic, are written to a musical basis. (3) Both are modeled on a hirmus which determines (a) the musical basis, (b) the number of syllables, (c) the regular recurrence of accent. (4) The text of the Latin tropes contain many Graecisms, as well as many borrowings from the Greek troparia — phrases, epithets for the attributes of the Deity and the God-bearer (*theotokos*) and ideas peculiar to the Eastern Church. (5) Some Latin tropes are reworkings of Greek troparia, others are word-for-word translations. Some of the translated troparia are still in use in the Latin Church in the form of antiphons. (6) Some of the melody-titles of Latin sequences — in effect real hirmoi — are Greek, e.g., hypodiaconissa, symphonia, Graeca, Frigdola (Frigdora for Phrigian-Dorian). Sometimes these names are written in Greek characters. (7) Musicologists believe that some of the melodies to which Notker composed sequences were of Byzantine origin. (8) The terminology of the Latin trope is drawn from the Greek — *tropus* (τρόπος), a loan word; *sequentia* (ἀκολουθια), a translation. (9) In the oldest trope manuscript from St. Gall, the melodies are written in the Greek manner from the bottom to the top, with a Greek symbol dividing them into periods composed of various neums. In the oldest MSS of Notker's Sequence-book, the melody

is written as among the Greeks in the margin opposite the versa to be sung to it.

These likenesses between Latin trope and Greek troparion seem to justify the conclusion that the Latin trope, as every other form of Latin ecclesiastical chant, was derived from the corresponding variety of Greek liturgical chant. This contention is strengthened by the fact that borrowing from the Greek Church was not an unusual proceeding of the Latin Church, in which everything bears the Greek impress — the elements of the liturgy, the feasts of the Church, the music — not merely its theory, its terms, its method of notation (the neums), its manner of conducting a *schola cantorum* by *cheironomia,* but even its melodies.

Nor is the conclusion that the Latin trope has an ultimate Greek origin affected by the common impression that there was practically no knowledge of Greek in the Middle Ages, and that there was no communication between the Greek and the Latin Church. Whatever may be said of the dearth of classic Greek, there is abundant evidence of the existence of a large body of Byzantine or Christian Greek literature — patristic, hagiographic, homiletic, and hymnographic — with which the Latins were perfectly familiar and from which they drew ideas and expressions for their tropes.

And as to communication between the two Churches, research indicates that for the first four centuries this communication amounted to identity, and throughout the centuries following up to the eleventh when the Great Schism occurred (1053) there was constant borrowing by the Latin from the Greek Church.

Nor was personal communication lacking. Throughout the Middle Ages the Greek monks were constant visitors at the continental monasteries. These visits seem always connected with liturgical practice — musical or poetical. Sometimes the Greek monks resided for a long time, if not permanently, in the Latin monasteries, as the *Hellenici fratres* at St. Gall in Notker's day, or the Greek monks who lived in community with the Irish monks at Liege, Verdun, Toul, and even at Bobbio where the third abbot, Bobolene, was an Athenian.

CHAPTER X

Transmission of the Trope Movement from the Orient to the Occident

That the immediate source of the Latin trope is the Celtic liturgy renders almost necessary the inference that the Irish monks were the most important factor in the transmission of the trope movement from

the Orient to the Occident. However, while there is nothing to oppose this inference and much to support it, yet the Irish monks may not have been the first to make known the "new" poetry to the Western Church. Other and earlier Latins were acquainted with the Greek troparia.

St. Hilary (d. 367), having listened to Greek and Syrian troparia during his four years' exile in the Orient, on his return to the West translated some of these Greek chants. However, while employing the strophic form of the Greek hirmus or troparion, he did not adopt the most important feature of Greek lyrism — the accentual rhythm.

St. Ambrose (d. 397) introduced the chant of the antiphons (troparia) introduced between the verses of the psalms but, like St. Hilary, continued to write in classical quantitative metres.

Cassian (d. 435), who, before coming to Gaul, had dwelt long in Eastern monasteries, describes in his *Institutiones* (P.L., XL, 78) the lengthening of the Psalms by the intercalation of antiphons (*troparia*).

The trope movement might have been propagated independently to Spain by the two sixth century bishops, St. Leander of Seville and St. John of Gerona, both of whom for liturgical purposes had sojourned years at Constantinople when the writing of Greek or Byzantine troparia was at its height. Indeed there may have been an opportunity of hearing Greek troparia chanted on Spanish soil, since the Byzantines held the East and South of Spain. However, so deeply are all these possible sources still involved in obscurity that one cannot speak with conviction of their part in the transmission of the trope movement from the Orient.

But to whom can the major part in this movement be ascribed with more propriety than to the Irish monks? They, from at least the early fifth to the late twelfth century, used in their island home and in their numerous insular and continental monastic foundations the Celtic liturgy which was the immediate source of the Latin trope. Moreover, these monks possessed in an eminent degree the qualifications necessary for such a task. Their knowledge of Greek, of which recent research is constantly furnishing more evidence, made it possible for them to appreciate and translate the Greek troparia. Their skill in the composition of Latin lyric poetry augured well for their success in imitating Greek rhythms. They were in the best position to multiply the trope manuscripts because of the numerous skillful scribes who worked in the *scriptorium* found in each of their insular and continental monasteries. How large a share these monks had in the transcription of the trope manuscripts is shown by the miniatures and decorative initials of the tropers which exhibit the characteristics of Irish illuminative art. The numerous insular and monastic foundations of these monks made it possible for them to give to the trope a propagation that was practically universal throughout the West.

This study seems to justify the conclusion that the Latin trope and the Greek troparion are not merely two unrelated literary-liturgical genres in different languages, but that they form the ecclesiastical addition to the Scriptural elements of liturgical chant of the universal Church whose official language for the first four centuries was Greek. Moreover, this rhythmical genre, so important in its influence on the development of modern European drama, coming with Christianity from Syria, its birthplace, is one of Christianity's contributions to modern culture.

VITA

The writer of this thesis, Sister Mary Loyola Hayde, was born September 16, 1868 in Chicago, Illinois. She was graduated from the Chicago Public High Schools in 1887. After teaching four years in the Chicago Public Schools, she entered the Order of Mercy at St. Xavier Convent, Chicago. She was engaged in the High Schools of the Sisters of Mercy fourteen years as teacher and eleven years as principal. In 1915 she was graduated from the University of Chicago with the degree of Bachelor of Philosophy with honors in general scholarship, departmental honors in English, and election to Phi Beta Kappa. In 1917 she received the degree of Master of Arts from the University of Chicago. After completing ten quarters of graduate work at the University of Chicago, she spent the year 1920-1921 at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., and the year 1927-1928 at the University of Illinois, attending also the Summer Sessions of 1925, 1929, and 1930. On the basis of the importance of the subject of this thesis for the history of dramatic origins, the writer was awarded the European Fellowship by the International Association of University Women. From 1919 with the exception of the year spent at the Catholic University, Washington, she has been instructor in the English department of St. Xavier College, Chicago.